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OF

# Nicolas Mooney.

Wherein is contained,

His Parentage and Education; an Account of his joining the Rebel Army at Carlifle, and the Part he acted therein, 'till the Defeat thereof at Culloden-Moor; the Adventures he met with both before and after this, 'till he took to the Highway; with a brief Account of his vicious Life, 'till' he committed the Robbery at Briftol, for which he was executed on St. Michael's Hill on Friday, April 24, 1752. Together with his Religious and Moral Reflections upon the most remarkable Passages of his whole Life; and an Account of his Conversion the Sunday before his Trial.

Taken from his own Mouth by a Friend; and publish'd at his Request.

#### The Second Edition.

Consuefacio inspicere, tanquam in speculum, in Vitas omnium, jubeo atque ex aliis sumere exemplum sibi; boc facito, & boc sugito; boc laudi est, boc vitio datur.

TER. Adelph.

And Jesus faid unto him, Verily I for unto thee, This Day shalt thou be with Me in Paraisse. Luke xxiii. 43.

#### BRISTOL:

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anno-1752



## LIFE

OF

### NICOLAS MOONEY.

THEN the Hand of Justice has overtaken any one, whose crimes have made him notorious, curiofity leads the world to enquire, What he has to fay of himfelf; and feeing it too commonly happens that many things are reported of fuch an one, that are utterly false, many matters of Fact misreprefented, and truth so blended with falshood, that it is almost impossible but the Publick should be in fome measure imposed upon, I thought it necesfay to give a particular account of Myself: and this I do, not only to obviate the inconveniencies before mention'd, nor meerly to fatify the curious part of mankind, who would perhaps be content with a dry narration of bare matters of fact; but also to stir up all men to repent, and believe in Jesus Christ; to shew that I readily own the justice of the fentence pass'd upon me, according to the laws of my country; and also, above all, to magnify the Wisdom, Justice and Mercy of Almighty God, who in his own due time has made a notorious offender against Himself, against his king and country, a publick example to the world, and at the fame time a happy monument of his amazing Love and Free Grace to the worst of sinners.

2. Heretofore I have taken a pride in wickedly boafting of the errors, follies and crimes of my past

life, glorying in my shame without any remorfe; but now deeply humbled before Gop for my numberless fins against him, I recount such of them as will give the world fome little notion of the vicious Life I have led; (for to conceive it all it is impossible) and set forth the rich Grace of God, who hath vonchsafed to shew mercy on so vile a wretch, and to give me repentance unto eternal life. my own shame, and the glory of God, who has accepted me in CHRIST JESUS, the fon of his love, notwithstanding my manifold Provocations, I declare, That I believe, hardly ever unhappy, thoughtless man in fourscore years has so heap'd fin upon fin, as I have done in thirty. The various scenes of life that I have gone through; the many fignal deliverances heretofore un-noticed that I have experienced; the many notorious villainies that I have committed; and the wonderful goodness and mercy of God, to me, at the last, I here lay before the reader in the following pages.

3. Whatever other names I have at any other times taken upon myself, I here own, That my real name is Nicolas Mooney. My father, John Mooney, who kept a large dairy-farm, and was befides a mafter-gardener, liv'd in good credit at Regar, near Refarman, within two miles of Dublin, in the kingdom of Ireland, where I was born July 10, 1721. My father was of the Roman Catholick profession; and in the principles of that church I was brought up: but my religion confifted only in principle; for as to the practice of the christian life, it was far from me. I knew nothing of Experimental religion, nor confider'd, that Christianity imply'd fomething more than being born within the pale of the church, and embracing a crude and confus'd fet of notions, and performing a few external duties and! the Riches of the goodness of God in us, who hath condefcended to inform the judgment and instruct the heart of one so ignorant of his truth, and unde-

ferving of the least of his Favours!

4. I liv'd at home with my father, 'till I was about fifteen years of age: in the mean time I was put to school, and had the benefit of a tolerable education. About fixteen I was put apprentice to one Andrew Muckleworth, a paper-maker at Glassneven, one mile from Dublin. While I was here. I fometimes went to church; for I had taken a diflike to the Roman Catholick profession, and now, glory be to God, I have atterly renounced it, and hope to die, thro' the affiftance of Divine Grace, a living member of that part of Christ's mystical body, call'd, The Church of ENGLAND. Once at church I felt the motions of God's Spirit upon my foul, and began to have some little concern for the things of another life; but they foon vanish'd away, and I still continued dead in the midst of life. After I had ferv'd near a year of my time, a quarrel happen'd between me and one Wm. Reney, a journeyman that work'd for my master, whom I almost kill'd by giving him a violent blow on the head with a stone. This brought upon me the diflike of my mafter and mistress, which I easily faw, and was impatient to bear: whereupon I pack'd up my clothes, together with a prayer-book that belonged to my master's daughter; the Whole Duty of Man, and a pair of stockings that were my master's, and ran away by night to Drogheda, which was about 20 miles off; where I was known and entertain'd by an acquaintance of my father's. How truly is it faid, "What is ragingly and rashly begun, challenges shame before it is done!" for this rash and inconsiderate action was the first step to my ruin: this pav'd the way for all the afterextravagances of my life.

5. The fear of being apprehended by my master prevented my staying long at Drogheda: I therefore fold my working clothes, and the books I had purloin'd, and then embark'd for Liverpool in Lancashire. After we were put to sea, (as if the Almighty had been displeas'd that another felfwill'd 'Jonah was flying from his prefence) a violent storm arose, which detain'd us at sea five days, continually tofs'd up and down, expecting every moment to be cast away. The ship was stript of her masts and rigging, and all were carried off. The swelling of the sea was so great, the failors were obliged to tie themselves with ropes to the ship, to prevent their being wash'd overboard. Being driven near to the Isle of Man, there was the utmost danger of being lost off Douglasbay. One fignal Instance of Providence, though it does not concern me, I will relate.—A boy who came with fome liquor, to give the failors to refresh them, was wash'd overboard, and afterwards thrown on board again, and escap'd with life. On the fifth day, the tempest abated: -We then took in a pilot from Douglas, who carried us fafe in our shatter'd vessel into that harbour. Thus by the good Providence of God, we escap'd: but at the fame time, another ship was loft, and all the crew, with ten or twelve passengers, perish'd. In very deed, Those that go down to the sea in ships, and occupy their bufiness in great waters, thele men fee the works of the LORD, and his wonders in the deep. Oh! what reason have I to bless God for my preservation, who tho' preferv'd it may be for a worfe fate, meet it at a better time: for had I then fell a victim to the raging fea, when the Almighty lifted up the waves thereof, my fins had funk me lower than the bottom of the great deep, even to the nethermost Hell.

6. I not being ready to go with the ship, it sail'd without me, and I was left in Douglas, where I stay'd three weeks, and then went to Castle-Town, to get a pass from the Duke of Athol, Earl of Darby, who is King in Man: no one there being fuffered to leave the island without such a certificate, left any one should go off without paying their debts. Having obtained a pass, I embarked in another ship, and had a fair passage to Liverpool. From thence I proceeded to London, and work'd in Kent-street-road as a gardiner; (having learned fomething of that business of my father). Being of an unfettled disposition, I did not continue long in this fituation: And as about this time the Spanish war commenced, I went and offer'd to ship myself on board a man of war, but the officer refused to enter me, being a land man: however, they impress'd me, put me on board the tender, and sent me round to Spithead, where I was put on board the Pearl man of war, of 40 guns, and enter'd by the name of Nicolas Davis. My reason for altering my name now, as well as at feveral other times, was to prevent a discovery, if any thing extraordinary should happen to me. Oh! what does the Wisdom of the Serpent avail, without the Harmless of the Dove. From the Pearl I was turn'd over to the Burford, a 70 gun ship; and from thence to the Elizabeth of 60 guns; from whence I foon after got my difcharge.

7. An advertisement was at this time publish'd, That every man who had been impress'd, and discharged within fix months time, should have fix months pay. Upon this I went to London; but when I came there'l found that instead of 6 months pay, I could have only two, and whoever was not content with that, was to go to the West-Indies with Admiral Vernon. After some consideration, I came to a resolution to take my two months pay,

which amounted to 35s. I then determined to return to Ireland, and accordingly fet out for Liver-

pool, and thence fet fail for Dublin.

8. When I came to Dublin, I bought myself fome cloaths, and being genteelly apparelled, went home to my parents. My father, that I might have my liberty, and be under no apprehensions from my mafter, from whom I had absconded, bought out the remainder of my apprenticeship. I then went and wrought as a journeyman papermaker about half a year; after which I removed to Tallow, about four miles from Dublin, where I work'd with the Archbishop of Dublin's gardener, who kept a publick-house. After a short stay here, I returned to Dublin, where I was enlifted by Col. Brigard into Nevill's regiment called The Greens. As I belonged to Major Portow's troop, which then lay at Marysburgh in Queen's County, I was obliged to go thither, where I married a wife of the Roman Catholick persuasion, and was discharged for fo doing. I then enlifted myself again into Ld. Tyrawley's regiment; but the news having reached my officer's ear that I had married a Roman Catholick, I was discharg'd from his majesty's fervice a fecond time. Upon this, with my wife, I went to Dublin, whither my father was then remov'd, and lived fome time along with him. My wife proving false to my bed, and having contracted a bad distemper, I determined to cohabit with her no longer. I then hired myself as a covenant fervant to Mr. Simpson, who kept a large sugarhouse in Cole's-lane, Dublin, as his gardener, and fometimes work'd in the fugar-house. Here it was that I first got an insight into the art of sugar-baking. After a stay of about three quarters of a year here, I was discharged from my service for staying out all night at a house of ill same. A gentle stroke from the hand of God, which might have been a

fufficient warning to me to have avoided such practices for the future; but my ears were not then opened, to bear the voice of the Rod and Him that appointed it. Oh! beware whoever thou art that readest these lines, beware of Nightly Revellings. However you may vainly think the secrecy of the season a screen for your actions, that will not bear the light, be assured, that the you should escape undiscovered in this World, yet God, whose all-piercing eye sees all things, will at the last bring

every fecret thing to Judgment.

9. Being discharg'd from Mr. Simpson's I work'd at another fugar-house in Dublin a little while, but neither here could I be content; hurried on by the restlessness of my spirit and the precipitancy of my own will, I enlifted into Gen. Ligonier's regiment of horse by the name of Nicholas Moon. the recruits had orders to embark for England, in order to proceed for Flanders, my father, knowing the general wicked lives of the foldiery, and follicitous for my welfare, came to me and made me many promises if I would not go. His tears and intreaties would have mov'd any heart but mine, and that was then steel'd against all he could fay or do; though within these few Days I have felt every endearing word, every kind tear, and tender parting look, as fo many daggers to my foul.-However, so intent was I upon going, that I would not even stay to drink with him, but left him, my mother, acquaintance, country, all that is dear to nature, and immediately took ship, and landed fafe at Park-Gate near Chester, and from thence proceeded to Gravesend .- Children, obey your parents, in the LORD, for this is right. Difobedience to their prudent and godly admonitions, the jealous God will furely visit. How exactly is that word verified in me, The eye that mocketh his father, and dispiseth to hear the counsel of his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and

the young eagles shall eat it.

10. At Gravefend I again took ship, and difembark'd at Oftend in Flanders, and repair'd to the camp at Berlingham. From hence being order'd to Bruges, we were intercepted in our march by a party of the French who lay in ambush in a neighbouring wood, where they had planted fome pieces of cannon in order to cut us off. Upon this we were obliged to retire on the other fide of the river Scheld, and being escorted by a party from the camp at Berlingham, we got fafe back thither. The lying in camp did not well agree with me, and I had thereby contracted a flight illness; for after I had continued here in his Majesty's service about half a year, I resolved upon a stratagem to get myself discharged, which was pretending deafnels, and it succeeded according to my wish: I was discharged as unfit for the service, received the king's bounty money, which was 21s. and a pass to return to England .- Oh! the wickedness of my heart, that I should dare even to bely my God, in order to deceive man and compass my own defigns. Being thus discharg'd, I went to Holland and bought tea, and began to follow the unlawful practice of fmuggling, hereby defrauding the king of his duty, and injuring the fair trader. Having made my purchase, I embark'd for England; but when I came ashore, my tea was seiz'd, tho' not by an authoriz'd officer, which however I bought again, and with it went to London, where I fold it.

wro't at Mr. Nelson's, a sugar-baker near Thames-street, London. I had been here but a short time before I was discharged on suspicion that I was carrying on a criminal intreague with a servant maid in the family; but I soon after got a Place at Mr. Shoemaker's, a sugar-baker in Lemon-street, where

I continued some time. From thence I went to Mr. Cooper's in Old-fish-street, where I made love to my master's fifter, which coming to his ear, he discharged me from his service, before I had been there quite a year. My mind was then bent upon roving again, and I went and inlifted into Capt. Cunningham's company, in the Train of Artillery, at Greenwich, by the name of Nich, Moon. From thence I went for Scotland, this being at the time the Rebellion broke out there, in order to fight for my king against his enemies; tho' afterwards I join'd the Rebel party, which I at first went out to oppose. The occasion was this: A waggon that carried the luggage breaking down near Hexham in Northumberland, I stole from thence a little bundle of the officer's linnen, which was tied up in a handkerchief. Being discover'd, I was secured and a guard put over me; but finding means to make my escape, and knowing no place of fafety for me, I was eafily induced to join the Rebels at Carlifle, taking upon me the name of John Jones: for before this I (and not only I) had an inclination to go over to the Pretender, having heard there was preferment to be had under him. How eafily does a rash head, an ambitious defire, and a corrupt conscience, spurred on by ill counsel, make a Rebel!-The Rebels having made themselves masters of Carlille, left J. Hamilton (afterwards executed for his treason) governour there, with about 300 Rebels. I took horse, and leaving Carlifle, went with about 30 Rebels more, to Penrith, where we thought to have quarter'd; and in order to strike a terror into the people, and force them to admit us, we pretended we had 1000 more of our party at hand, and went to draw billets for them. This fetch however had no effect upon the twonfmen, for not believing us, they attempted to apprehend us,

whereupon we fled with a guide to Lord Lonfdale's of Lowther-hall, which was about four miles off. We had not been here much above two hours before Lord Lonfdale's servant raised the inhabitants of Penrith upon us, who came and furrounded the house. Here I was appointed commander over a guard of ten men, under Charly Boyde, fo called, fon to the unfortunate Earl of Kilmarnock. I turned out the guard, who were received by the Penrith men with a smart fire. Some of them were killed, and I myself was wounded in the face with small shot, the marks whereof are still vifible. Oh! the riches of the goodness of Gop. who did not fuffer me to fall here in rebellion against my King, and consequently against my God, seeing the powers that be are ordained of God.

12. Having made my escape over a wall, I set out for Leek in Staffordshire, where the Pretender then was. I was taken up several times in my way by the King's men, but upon examination I always denied my being of the rebel-party, and pretended that they had wounded me, and taken my horse from me, and that I was going after it. In my way to Leek, I received a letter stom J. Hamilton, for Mr. Murray the Pretender's secretary, which I buried under some dirt, lest the loyal party should take me, and such a letter being sound about me should endanger my life, more especially if it should be known that I had deserted the King's army.

13. Ambition had bewitched me, and the expectation of great preferment under the *Pretender* made me willing to venture upon any enterprize, though ever so desperate. Oh! what certain destruction awaits that man that aims at the *gentlesman* without his *fortune!* Here was another motive that pushed me on to my ruin. Let every one be advised never to affect either dress or company

above his station, but to be content to be thought what he really is: For much better it is to be of an humble spirit, than to divide the spoil with the proud. When I came to the Pretender at Leek, instead of being preferred, as I had no letters of recommendation, I was fecured as a fpy, for I was known by some of them there to have been in the English army. From Leek I was taken with the rebels to Darby, where a council of war was held, and it was resolved to retire to Lord Lonsdale's. Here we had another skirmish, and took the Duke of Cumberland's running footman prisoner. From thence we went to Carlifle, I being still a prifoner, where I was released at the instance of Hamilton, and was received into favour; and the Pretender ordered me ten guineas. All this while I

passed for a Yorkshire-man.

14. The Pretender was now ready to march for Scotland; and I being asked whether I would continue with my countrymen at Carlifle, or go with him? I, believing the garrison not sufficient to keep the place, chose the latter; faying, There was more likelihood of preferment in being with him than at Carlise. Accordingly I went to Dumfries, and, in my way, took a horse out of a field to ride on; for nothing escaped our rapacious hands that we had a mind for. From thence we bent our course towards Hamilton. I then went in company with Capt, Maclaughlan and Mr. Saunders, and plunder'd a house: Among other things, we carried from thence a white horse and some fire-arms, and marched on to Glasgow, Here I entered into Lord Balmerino's troop of life-guards, and bought myfelf a uniform. From Glasgow we marched to Aberdeen, where I went to a clergyman's house, on the other fide of the water, he being deem'd a disaffected person, and took a horse from him, and afterwards went to Bamff, where I took a fervant to wait on me, and mounted him on the clergyman's horse, and proceeded for Inverness. When
I came there, Lord Balmerino put me prisoner, for
having staid behind my party. Being released, I
went into Col. J. Roy-Stuart's regiment, where I
serv'd as a cadet. Honour and preferment was the
sum of all my wishes, and this I pursued by all
means right or wrong. At length I obtain'd what
I so earnestly sought after; for having enlisted some
Men for the Pretender's service, I was appointed
Captain over them. I might observe here, that we
had no commission for our offices, but held them
only by bare nomination and appointment, and that
a captain's pay was no more than 2s. 6d. per day;

-Poor pay for fuch bad work!

15. Being thus preferred, I went with Major Glafgow to Keith, having about an hundred men under our command, to defeat the Campbell's clan and the Duke of Kingston's light horse. The guard-house here was the church. It was about 12 o'clock at night when we arriv'd, the moon shining very bright. We advanced and surprized the guards, who prepared for defence, but we overpower'd them after a short skirmish. One dishonourable action (but who can expect honour in a rebel!) as well as instance of cruelty in me, I will not omit: Having fir'd at one man and missed him, he held up his hand for quarter, but I should nevertheless have taken his head from his body, had not an officer prevented me, and interceeded with me to give him quarter. Here were some killed and wounded on both fides; all the rest we took prifoners. Then taking one of the Duke of Kingston's horses out of the stable, I rode thereon, and conducted the prisoners to our general rendezvous at Spey-fide, where we had made fome barracks of deal boards, of a slort bos , noling beforein a and efferwards were to Partill, where I wook a ler-

16. Being purfued by the English army, we were obliged to leave Spey-fide, and fled to Inverness, hear which place, on the roth of April, 1746. happened the decifive battle at Culloden-moor; a battle that reftored peace and tranquillity to the nation by the entire and happy defeat of the Pretender's Forces: I fay, a happy defeat; for had that aspiring Adventurer succeeded in this bold attempt, what must have been the Consequence but gibbets, fires, racks and tortures, for every loyal subject and true protestant that would not for take their King, their Religion and Liberty, or their Country. The favourers of the rebellion must have been rewarded; many principal actors therein, that were wholly dependent, must have been well provided for, beside the large demands of France, which must have been answered; And with what, but the estates and fortunes of every steady adherent to their Sovereign? And what calamities befide lay hid in the womb of fuch a fate, God only knows, and I pray Goo these nation may never experience.

17. In this battle I was a captain in the frontline of Col. John Roy-Stuart's regiment of Scots. Let me not here forget the fignal hand of providence over me, when my life was in fuch imminent danger. In the heat of the engagement many were cut off on every fide, and an officer who flood next me on my left-hand had his leg shot off: And when I was obliged to take to flight, feeing at a distance two officers, whom I imagined to be Frenchmen belonging to Fitz-James's horse, I went up to them, and found it to be an English officer, who had taken one of Fitz-James's officers prisoner. The English officer having a blunderbuss in his hand, immediately demanded my arms, which I furrendered, being a Highland broad-fword and a piftol. My fufil I had thrown away in my flight. I then took to my heels, being determined to die in flight rather than be taken prisoner. He called to me to surrender, and told me he would use me like a gentleman; but I held on my course; whereupon he snapped his blunderbuss at me, but miss'd me, and I made my escape to Inverness. Out of the jaws of imminent death have I been thus delivered, and hitherto preserved, that I might see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living, and experience his loving-kindness before I go bence and be no more seen. Oh! who can express the noble acts of the

LORD, or shew forth all his praise?

18. From Inverness I went on to Fort-William. and throwing off my plaid, I disguised myself in a mean habit, and proceeded towards England. In my way I met with a drover, who was driving cattle to London: I joined myself to him, and complaining that I was a poor man, he took me to help him drive his cattle, which I did as far as Carlisle. Being recommended here by the drover to justice Gilpin, I obtained a pass, that I might travel unmolested. I then went off to York-road. about fourteen miles from York, where I personated a doctor, and took up my quarters at a noted inn: but, on account of my dress, I was suspected for a counterfeit, and was therefore, notwithstanding the character I had assumed, and all I could fay to excuse my habit, taken prisoner, and confined in an empty house alone; but in the night, by means of an iron pin I found in the wall, I pulled up the floor under the door, and got me out; and with many weary steps, and thro' many difficulties, escaped safe to London.

ro. As foon as I came to London I went to Newgate, to fee Capt. Hamilton, who was now a prisoner there. From him I received instructions to go to Hague, in order to get a pass to France. Leaving London, I went and took ship for Hague;

but when I came there, notwithstanding my Instructions, and a note I had received from Capt. Hamilton, I could obtain no pass; wherefore I set out for France without it, and got fafe to Paris. Here I met with certain of the rebel officers, and one of them gave me a fuit of laced cloaths, and I had between two and three hundred livres paid me out of the bank. I was then introduced to the Duke of Perth, who promifed me that I should be a first lieutenant of grenadiers, and according to custom complimented me, as they term it, with a laced hat. With him I went to St. Omer's, where his regiment lay. He told me there were several gentlemen expected foon from Scotland, and when they arrived we should receive our commissions all. together, and till then I was to serve as a cadet. While I was waiting here, it happened that I was playing at billiards with Capt. Mackenzie: Both of us were drunk; and upon my mentioning his keeping company with a married woman, a quarrel enfued between us; whereupon he drew his Highland fword, and gave me therewith a terrible, wound in my head, the mark whereof I bear to this day, and giving me a fecond blow, he cut off the fourth finger of my left hand, which fell to the ground. Notwithstanding this provocation, and my own natural undaunted and furious temper, I had not power now even to draw my fword, but was just like one bereaved of thought. How foon can God strip a man of all his boasted courage; and make the man that would dare Goliah fall before a stripling? A French officer interposing; prevented any further mischief. For this quarrel we were both difgraced; and I was carried to the hospital to be cured of my wounds. In my illness here, a priest came to me to administer the sacrament, which he did. When he urged me to conhighly difpleated my comesaion; and in order to

fession, I made so little discovery of my past life to him, that no doubt he took me for a very good Christian (God be merciful to me) at the same

time I was the chief of finners.

20. Being recover'd of my wounds I went to Paris again, where the Pretender then was, and was order'd more money, which was paid me at three payments. I believe what I received in the whole amounted to eight or ten or it might be twelve hundred livres. He offer'd me likewise a lieutenancy in Ogilvy's regiment, but I refus'd it, having been advis'd to go to Spain, where there lay open a furer way to great preferment. Accordingly I fet out for Spain, with letters of recommadation in my pocket from the Pretender's brother Henry, whom they called, The Duke of York, to Col. Macdonald, with one Mr. Cronyn. a relation to Major Gen, Cronyn in Barcelona, and an old companion of mine, whom I recommended to the Pretender's court at Paris. In our way to-Spain we went to Montpelier, where we called on the young Duke of Berwick and Lieut. Gen. Wall, who gave us feven quadruples, and also further letters of recommendation to Col. Macdonald, with a request that he would prefer us both, as foon as possible. We then set out for Barcelona, where the Colonel's regiment lay. At our arrival here the Col. received us kindly, and we ferv'd as Cadets under him, and kept, what the world calls, the best company in the place,

Ite is ever treacherous, and for a flight offence, or when it will serve his own purpose, is ready to give up the credit, yea even the life of his friend, when it is in his power. The Spirit of God alone is the lasting coment of faithful hearts.—I had here the promise of the first preferment. This highly displeased my companion; and in order to

make his way over my head, notwithfranding a was the person who had thus far brought him in the way to advancement, he maliciously accused me of stealing the officer's linnen at Hexham in England; and I as revengefully and fally accused him again of endeavouring to perfuade me to rob on the highway: fo we were both believed, and both difgraced, and left in a strange country to thift for ourselves.—Behold the fate of a Rebel! to what shifts, to what dangers, to what extremities and diffresses at best, is he expos'd! And confider deeply of it, all ye that lift up your hands against the LORD's Anointed, and have holpen to bring wasting destruction and bloodshed into the bowels of your country; repent ye of your crimes speedily, lest the judgment of Goo fall upon your rebellious heads as it has upon mine, as well as many others. Many have conspir'd secretly, and acted vigorously, but few such are there, who have not ended their lives wretchedly. What wonder? He that is a traitor to his Prince, whom God hath set over him, is perjun'd to God, and a rebel against the Most High; and the blood of every one that falls by his hands in a rebellious cause, will furely be upon his head. An idle opinion or a mis-informed conscience at best, is all that can be urged to excuse Rebellion against the Prince whom God hath placed on the Throne (for it is by Him Kings reign).—But what more grimace is it, to make it a point of conscience to submit to the powers that are ordain'd of Gon, and at the same time to live in open violation of all laws human and divine, which, it is too well known, was the case of the greater part of us, the disturbers of our country's peace.

22. You will eafily imagine that all this while I gave myfelf up to all those vices, for which the foldiery in general are so notoriously infamous.

But notwithstanding the wicked and impious life I led, the Spirit of God had not quite forfaken me. Though I had grieved him times without number, he did not utterly depart from me, but oftentimes strove with me. My conscience was roused with the alarming voice of God, and I heard the accuser in my own breast. This sometimes made me think of breaking off my evil course of life, and I would set about a reformation. Divers times did I in a formal manner repent, and fin and repent, and fin again: And when I have happened in company where fober, religious people have been discoursing, I made vows and resolutions of a new life, and afterwards wrote them down in a Book that I might not forget them. But alas! what are man's, frail man's best resolutions, when he does not look to God for his gracious affistance to keep them? After all this I grew worse and worse, and drank in iniquity like water, rushing headlong down the broad way to destruction, 'till I had so far grieved the Spirit of God as to cause him to depart from me, and to give me up wholly to my own heart's lust. Oh! what mercy was it that ever he vouchfafed to give me another call. Oh! let every foul beware how they quench the convictions of Gon's Spirit in their own breast! God hath said, My Spirit shall not always strive with man. Hear that word, and be warned.

23. Upon my difgrace I went to Sallo, and embark'd in a Dutch ship bound for England, and was impress'd by the Grand Turk, a 20 gun ship, and carried into Plymouth-sound. It being understood that I had some skill in military affairs, I had the office of Master of Arms, which I was glad enough of, not merely for the sake of the office, but because I thought it would give me an opportunity of getting away the easier. Going

ashore at Plymouth, in order to take up some men that had run away, I ran away myself, and was glad I could fo make my escape, without receiving any pay. I then purfued my way to Exeter, where I got acquainted with a shop-keeper's daughter, to whom I pretented love, and having ingratiated myself into her favour, I borrowed money of her, and then fet out in order to go to London. But first I swore I would return and marry her. My manner of fwearing here, as well as at all other times, where I never intended what I swore to, or knew it to be false, was, to swear on some trifling book, or if the Scriptures were offered me by a magistrate, to kiss my thumb only instead of the book: This was a knack the devil put into my head, and an oath taken this way I thought was not facred. How strange was it that I should scruple to take a false oath, though at the fame time I knew I was imposing a lie upon people, which would do equally as much mifchief.

24. In my way to London, I met with an honest, sober, virtuous young woman, whose father was a farmer of good circumstances in Wiltshire: I cast my vulture's eye upon her, as the destined prey to my unbounded lust and avarice. I attired myfelf in a very gay manner, and in the appearance of a gentleman made my addresses to her, making her believe I was a man of fortune, and by this and other devilish artifices I gained her confent to be married. We went together to London, where I took her to the Fleet and married her. I had one child by her, which dying unbaptized, though I was fuch an abandoned wretch, gave me no little concern. How cautious ought every young woman to be what company the goes into, especially with whom the contracts a familiarity. Friends should be used like gold

What calamities have young people brought upon their friends, what mifery and distress upon themfelves, by giving too easy credit to appearances. And let the advice of a dying man prevail with all men never to attempt the chastity of any woman, and enforce St. Paul's advice, Flee youthful lusts, which war against the soul: For lust is a pleasure bought with pain, a delight hatch'd with disquiet, a satisfaction sull of fear, and a sin si-

nished with forrow.

25. After I had spent what money I had with this wife, I applied myself to work at gardening again; but my income not being sufficient to support my extravagances, I took to coining of half-crowns and shillings, in moulds of my own making, and cheated the publick this way. Oh! my gracious God, how did I fall from one wickedness to another, and came not into thy righteousness! I had not followed this practice long before I was overheard by some in the house as I was at work, who suspected what I was doing, and threatened to inform against me, whereupon I threw away my moulds and left off coining. But my leaving off one vice was but to make way for another.

cordingly I equipped myself with a brace of pistols, and set out. The first I robbed was a gentleman going to Deptford. Then I robbed a man and his wife at Hyde-park-corner: The woman's pocket I shatch'd from her side. After this I got me two accomplices, and we committed a great many robberies in and about London, which it is too tedious and indeed past my skill to enumerate. But among the many other, we set upon a gentleman belonging to the Play-house, pear a Watch-house in London. One kept the watchman in the house, while the other two committed the rob-

bery. The gentleman had his fword drawn in his hand, with which he stabb'd me in the fide: however, I got his sword from him and made off with it. I took upon myself during this scene of my life, the name of The Black Knight, because I newer robb'd in the day-time; and by this name I

went among my accomplices.

27. Soon after I was taken up for this robbery at my own lodgings on the back-part of Wild-Areet by the watch, and carried before a magifliate, who committed me to Clerkenwell Bridewell. As foon as I was apprehended I fent word to my accomplices to make their escape; and as foon as I found they had abfconded, in order to get myfelf off, I fent word, that I would impeach rity accomplices; which I accordingly did; and moreover made information against three innocent men, and after my manner fwore against them; two of whom were thereupon apprehended and committed; one to Newgate, and the other to Clerkenwell-Bridewell; but afterwards, no other evidence appearing against them but me, they were discharg'd by Justice Fielding. At the next Seffions at the Old-Baily I was tried and condemn'd to die by my right name of Nicolas Mooney. But oh! the bardness of my heart! how little did I think of Death and a future state! The name of Gob was never in my heart, but when it came out of my mouth in blafphemy. And fo far was I from making any preparation for another life, that I kept finning on to that degree, as if I had meant to pull down damnation on my own head, before the day of vengeance was come. Oh! let me blush for shame before God and all the world, and let every one that has a spark of modelty or humanity blush for me, that I had none. How thall I tell the borrid deed! Be aftonish'd all ye Powers of Heaven and Earth at the unborallel & wickednefs of so harden'd a wretch; who, tho' under sentence of death, without any fear, or remorse, committed whoredom in the cell with a woman that was respited, and whose life was yet in suspense, while a poor condemn'd criminal like ourselves, lay dead beside us. Oh! what pity it is that persons of different sexes are suffered to consort together when they are under confinement, who have need of every help to bring them to a true sense of themselves, and to be kept from every thing that has any ways a tendency to hinder it. And here let me warn every one to beware of the beginnings of sin, for who that once sets out on a vicious course of life is master enough of him-

felf to fay, Here will I stop?

28. My carelessness at this time was in a great measure owing to the expectation I had of a reprieve: Of this I feemed almost consident, my wife, who shewed herself a true friend to me in the time of necessity, notwithstanding my baseness to her, in deceiving her as I did, [May the LORD be her friend, if the be yet living! affuring me that I should not die. I was respited several times. At last Justice Fielding's brother came to me a few days before the day of execution, and defired me to tell him ingeniously and truly, whether those three men I had impeach'd were guilty? I confidently affirmed they were; tho' I knew it to be false. I pray God make them amends for the wrong I did them, feeing I cannot.-After this Mr. F-g became my friend, and thro' his and the favour of Sir J. L---r, and one of the K-g's messengers, a pardon was procur'd for me; tho' before I had my reprieve, the drums were beating, and the guards and cart at the prison-door to have me to execution; which news being told me, gave me no concern at all: Not then because I knew that death to me would be the pleasing passage

to a life of endless happiness, but because of the stupidity of my conscience, and my infensibility of the miserable state I was in, and the dependence I had upon the interest of my friends. Oh! how hard is the heart of a natural man, 'till the Almighty God has humbled and broken it by the power of his convincing Spirit. And so doubly harden'd was my heart become thro' the deceitfulness of sin, that had not God himself of his mere mercy in Christ Jesus, interpos'd, all the preaching and teaching in the world, the denunciation of all the terrible threatnings in the law of God; the promulgation of all the inviting promises of the gospel, all that angels or men could have done of faid to me, would have been in vain. But neither did the goodness of GoD to me stop here, for with my life, I had my liberty granted me immediately, by means of two worthy gentlemen, who gave each 401, bail for my appearance at the next Seffions. — Ungrateful wretch l, who made so bad a use of so great favours.—At the same time with me, one Glover a smugler, received a pardon also. 20. When I had gotten my liberty, I waited on Gen. L-r, to return him thanks for his favour, who gave me a guinea. I then took to work again at gardening, and had a very good place: but it happen'd, after I had been there some time, that being drinking in a publick house with my master's brother, a quarrel broke out in the company between another man and I, and I, as I justly deferved for being concern'd in the riot, was fent to the New-Goal, Southwark, by the name of 7. Jones. Here I, with some other prisoners, concluded to break the prison, and that the keeper's dog might not bark and disturb us in our attempt, we took care to destroy it by poison, and began our work, but were nevertheless discover'd; so that when my

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friends came to bail me out, the goaler detain'd me for attempting an escape: from hence I was carried to Guildford-goal, from whence after some time I was releas'd.

30. During the time I was under confinement at Guildford, I contracted an acquaintance with two thoughtless, resolute poor creatures, like myself; for fuch alone were fit companions for me: I could by no means bear any one that betrayed any dedegree of feriousness or fear. With these I agreed that if we were acquitted, we would all take to the highway together; and we did not fail of our word. Many were the robberies we committed in and about London. I was at last wounded in attempting to rob a gentleman near the Halfwayhouse going to Kensington. One of my accomplices was taken, and afterwards hanged. Upon his impeachment (oh! what a rope of fand is the confederacy of the wicked!) my other companion and I were forced to fly. I bent my course to the West, having first bought me a very long knife, either to defend myself, or rob withal, and got to Salisbury, difguis'd in a failor's habit. There I became acquainted with one, formerly a carpenter in the French fervice. With him I set out for Exeter, and on the road ask'd him to rob a gentleman, but he was afraid, and would not confent. When we came to Exeter, he made information against me for advising him to rob, and moreover took his oath, that I was an outlawed smugler; whereupon I was apprehended and committed to prison. On my examination I fwore, after my usual manner, that my name was J. Jackson, and that I was born at Prescot in Lancashire. This is the only time that I ever got any advantage by changing my name; but now it stood me in flead, for by this means I got clear of the

charge of outlawry, and was then also acquitted

of the other indictment, and fet at liberty.

31. Being discharged, I went to Taunton in Somerfetshire, difguised as a failor, and got work at gardening, and at leisure times painted pictures and fold them; for I had likewife made fome proficiency in painting and drawing patterns for needle-work. Here I affifted in making a new garden for a gentleman, and by this means got acquainted with feveral noted gentlemen's gardeners, and by one of them was recommended to Esquire P—'s, of Farfield, near Stokegusley, where I lived about three quarters of a year. My outward demeanour here was fuch as gained me respect, and none fuspected what my former life had been, yet all the while my heart was still going after its lusts. During my stay here, I contracted an intimacy with a virtuous young woman that was my fellow fervant; and (let me here ask pardon of God and her, which I do from the ground of my heart) I enfnared her affections, and debauched her. After I had lived in fin with her fome time, I began to fear least she should prove with child, and be brought to difgrace (a miracle of tenderness in such a one as 1) I therefore refolved to have no more criminal conversation with her; and that I might be afraid to break my refolution, I went the Sunday following to church and took the Sacrament upon it, which gave me afterwards fome uneafinefs, when I confidered that I had finned within the same week. What was this, but that as my day of wickedness and life was near at an end, the day of God's Grace began to dawn.

32. How weak are the refolves of feeble, frail, unconstant man, without the *Strength* of God! My passion soon grew too strong for my reason and resolution, and I again relapsed, and it too soon happened according to my fears; the poor, ruin-

ed (by me ruined) unfortunate creature, proved with child. When I found this [let none blame nor reflect upon her for my wickedness I prepared a potion and gave her, in order to cause abortion, and destroy the fruit of her womb. Had l not crimes enough already flanding on record against me, but to the rest must I add this act of murder also? For a murderer I was intentionally, though my horrid expedient did not fucceed. And hear me all ye that have or ever shall attempt to hide your shame by this unnatural means, that ye must one day answer it at the bar of a just God, to whom all your deeds are fully known. Ye are adding murder to adultery, whoever destroys, or attempts to destroy, the embryo in the womb. As a murderer in this respect I stood condemned in my own conscience before God, and, as fuch, I am confcious I must have been banished from his glorious presence for ever, and configned over to eternal mifery, had not the eternal Son of God, who bore my fin in his own body on the tree (fweet reflection to me, who must (hortly die there!) pleaded his merits on my behalf, obtained of the Father pardon for me.

33. When I found this poor creature still advancing in her pregnancy, I resolved to leave my place. I communicated to her my intention of going away, and, to make her easy, swore to her, not upon the Bible, but a book of painting, that I would return and marry her. I had lately received half a year's wages, and with that I set out for Bristol, and got work there, at Mess. Hillhouse and Stevens's sugar-house, where I wrought some time, and was well beloved, though I so ill deserved it. Here it was I became acquainted with my unhappy companion and fellow-sufferer, John Jones. It happening that Jones fell into company with one that was a noted boxer, who challeng'd

him to box him, which challenge Yones accepted. He afterwards came and acquainted me with the affair, and defired me to fecond him. I refused, faying, I did not like fighting upon a stage, it exposed a man so much, and would have him decline it: "But (added I) if you want money, go upon the high-way; and to encourage him I told him, I was very well acquainted with the manner of the high-way, and feared nothing. He urged, that we had no pistols. I told him, I could rob any man with a stick, and bid him not fear, faying, I am a stout man, and so are you; Who can take us? We shall soon fill our pockets, and then we may buy piftols and horses too. Bristol is much better than London for robbing, and, as it is the fair-time, I don't question getting two or three hundred pounds before it is over." But he was still unwilling to go without pistols; so we concluded to buy a brace; and at length overcome by my persuasions, he consented. Lord lay not this fin to my charge; and Oh! forgive the fins of him whom I have drawn on to his ruin!

34. I cannot help reflecting here upon the just judgment of Gon! And hear ye this, all ye who take delight in fighting, cudgelling, and exercises of this fort. This is not manly bravery, but favage brutality. One blow from an afterwards conquer'd hand, in a justifiable cause, in defence of our King and country, gains a man more real honour than five hundred attended with victory in a private, unnecessary quarrel. Consider, fighting in any manner, unless when a man has a lawful call thereto, is a kind of murder, and is expresly forbidden in the law of GoD; and whoever abets or any ways encourages it, tho' it were but by looking on unconcerned, has been accessory and consented to the murder, as much as St. Paul to the death of the martyr Stephen, for taking care of the cloaths

of those that were going to stone him to death. Supposing the laws of the land took no immediate account of it; yet, whoever will dare to break the laws of God, because they are not cognizable by the laws of the land, how juftly does God fuffer fuch a one to fall from one wickedness to another untill at length they meet with condign punishment. Such is the case of poor 'fones; he confented to an act of murder, in disobedience to the laws of GoD; I was fuffered to draw him on to an act of theft, for which he is condemn'd to die. Let me advise every one to beware in time, and leave off this vicious practice of fighting (whereby they not only dishonour God themselves, but are the occasion of many other fins in the spectators) lest they repent of it when it is too late.

35. At our first setting out, we met with Alderman Rich's fon in Maudlin-lane, near his father's house: I proposed robbing him; but Jones objected, there being a woman near: I faid, I feared nobody, and accordingly attack'd him, and robb'd him of a Pinchbeck-watch, a 36 s. piece, a moidore, and fome filver. As I was robbing him, he dropt his cane or stick, which I pick'd up and gave him. I likewise ask'd him where he lived, and on his telling me at Mile-hill, I bid him go home and fay nothing, for if he did, I would blow his brains out. We went from thence to Queen's-square the same night, and robbed Mr. Sheirclift of his watch and money; after which I was going to rob a gentleman in the square at his own door, though Jones perfuaded me to the contrary; but before I could lay hold of him the door was opened, and he went in and escaped my furacious hands. The next day we went to Durdham-down, and attacked Mr. Wasborough of Henbury, who struck me on the head with the butt-

end of his whip, and wounded me, whereupon I fired at him: The ball went through his great coat, but happily did him no further harm, for which I can never fufficiently thank Gop. I then went to a pond and washed the blood off my face, and then we rode off for Briftol, and went home to Jones's lodging, where, after I had washed my face again, and gotten a plaister for my head, I proposed to go out again on foot, but Jones abfolutely refused, saying he was ill. However, I was refolute, and fwore I would have fome money that night (fo was I hurried on by the devil) and accordingly went by myself to College-Green, and robb'd a gentleman of a mourning-ring and feven shillings. To intimidate him, and to prevent his crying out, I gave a fignal, whistling and calling as if I had had some accomplice at hand to affift me, though there was none; which probably, together with his fears, occasioned the gentleman to fay he was robb'd by two men. When I had done, I returned to Jones's lodging, and gave him half the money, leaving my pistols with him. I then went to the Bell in Broad-street; to enquire for lodging. Being asked from whence I came, I immediately replied, from Westbury; not in the least imagining I could be suspected from that circumstance. But God is wife, and here he meant to stop me short in my career. I was suspected to be the person who had attack'd Mr. Wasborough on the Down, and more so from a drop of blood that was left on my face, notwithstanding I had washed it twice. By what small means can God bring great matters to light, when he fees proper, when at other times much stronger circumstances escape unobserved. To put an end to all doubt, while I was here, Mr. Wasborough himself came in, who had been fearthing after me, and charged me with the robbery. Being fearched, and powder and

ball found upon me, I was committed to Bride. well, where, being fearched again, there was found upon me Mr. Sheirclift's watch, the mourning-ring, and the 36 s. piece. Seeing no possibility of getting clear of the charge, I thought I had better declare the whole of the matter, and accordingly I impeached poor Jones, who was taken the next morning in bed, with the pistols at his bed-fide, and Mr. Rich's watch in his pocket. We were afterwards both examined before the Mayor of Briftol, and by him committed to Newgate. I should here observe the reason why the things could not be found upon me the first time I was fearched; they were concealed in a private pocket, many of which every common highwayman has about his cloaths.

36. After I was confined in Newgate, I reported that John Hanley, who was lately executed at Gloucester, had told me, that he had robbed upon the Down himself, and bid me not be afraid; which I here solemnly declare was a gross falshood. Hanley never spake such word to me; it was only what the Devil put into my heart, and I tho't by such a discovery to have had the greater favour shewn to me. If therefore my reporting this had any influence in the taking away that poor man's life, I can only be forry, and repent me of my fin before God: for however he might deserve to die for other crimes, that will by no means acquit me of setting my hand to shed, for ought I knew, innocent blood.

37. During all this course of sin, to my shame I declare it to God and the world, Whoredom was the crime I was most addicted to; this was my darling vice, and for this I sacrificed my all. And, however light a matter some poor, unthinking wretches as I was may think of it, what I esteem most heinous, I scrupled not to have criminal con-

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versation with married women, a sin against which there is so particular a curse denounced in the Law of God. And so foul a letcher was I, that if I could and should recount the many acts of Adultery that I have committed, fure it would kill the modest ear, and make the most infamous of the brutish, lustful herd, next to my self, blush at the relation. I was likewise addicted to Gaming, which nothing but the too common practice of among persons of the highest rank could free from the imputation of being fcandalous, if they could fee no other harm in it. But how fashionable soever this vice may be, I now fee, it is unbecoming the character of a christian, whose interest and duty it is to redeem the time. And observe this maxim from me, Whoever turns common Gamester, if he has not a fortune to support his extravagance, will in a little time turn common Thief; and the more acute he is at Gaming, the more corrupted is he in life and manners. — Sabbath-breaking likewise, and prophaning the house of God, were other fins whereby I grievously provok'd the eyes of his glory. Many times have I gone to the place of God's worship, hardly with a defire or defign to hear or profit by his Word, but to meet with company agreeable to my mind. (Glory be to God who prevented my last purpose herein.) Such an affront this as a just God, who is jealous of his honour, and fearcheth the heart, will never excuse, and which none but a merciful God would ever pardon. And yet how many daring, thoughtless mortals are there that press into the courts of the Lord's house for no other end? that watch not to hear, what God by his messenger will say unto them, but how they may hurry out time enough to meet with their companions. These (as I read Thomas Savage said) when they should be begging the life of their fouls

Oh! let me entreat every such unthinking sinner to take warning by my fate, and immediately break off such an impious practice; otherwise God will certainly pursue them, as he has me, and they most expect nothing but a curse, beggary, ruin and disgrace in this world, and certain perdition, with-

out true repentance, in the world to come.

38. From this short narrative the world may in some measure conceive what a continued course of villainy and wickedness my whole life has been. Innumerable acts of Drunkenness, Rioting, Disobedience to Parents, Blasphemy, Perjury, Lying, Theft, Injustice, Revenge, Rebellion, Murder, Treafon, Fornication, Adultery, Bigamy, Impiety, Ingratitude, Sabbath-breaking and Gaming, and of every other vice, have crouded the short space of my evil thirty years. They may fee how indefatigable I have been, compassing sea and land, running all hazards, and daring every danger to ferve the Devil, and, without a miracle of grace, to make my own damnation fure: in all 'my dangers how, barden'd and unconcern'd; in all my deliverances how unthankful to my great Preserver; and in all my villainies and impieties, how shameless, stubborn, and remorfeless! And now must not every man that thinks at all be aftonish'd that such a Caitiff should live upon the earth, and every good man adore the wonderful goodness of God, who hath spared such a monster of iniquity, to make him a bappy example of his amazing love and free mercy to undeferving finners! Of his great goodness towards me in bringing me to a sense of my felf, and of his love to me in Christ Jesus, I shall now give fome account, to the glory of his grace. I am too fenfible (for I fee inflances thereof daily) how ready the giddy, thoughtless part of mankind are to ridicule things of this nature; but whether

they will hear, or whether they will forbear, I will, in simplicity, and the fear of God, declare what He hath done for my soul: And I pray God it may be blest to the converting or strength-

ming of every one that shall hear thereof!

39. When I was committed to prison, I was very beavily iron'd and closely confin'd in the Condemn'd room, it being apprehended, that I being a stout, sturdy, resolute person, might find means to make my escape. Surely the all-wise Providence of God over-ruled in all this affair: For had I robb'd Mr. Wasborough, I must have taken my trial at Gloucester, where I had, in all probability, been destitute of such Spiritual Helps, as I have met with at Bristol: This, and my being so closely confined here, is such an instance of God's peculiar care over, and gracious intentions towards me, as I shall have reason to praise him for to all eternity. Hereby I had the opportunity of reflecting on my past misconduct, and the benefit of the conversation of some religious friends, uninterrupted by the rest of the prisoners; who, God be merciful to them, are, as I myself have been, unconcern'd at the fituation they are in, and heedlefly posting on to destruction, which stares them even in the face. Indeed it was many weeks after my imprisonment that I came to any deep and ferious reflection: for though (upon confidering that when the Judge came to town, there would probably be fome with him that would remember me when I was cast at the Old-Baily, and that I was past all hope, a dead man) I had some sudden fears of death started up in my mind, attended with some slender remorse of conscience, yet they were not lasting, but as the early dew which passes away; partly through the natural hardness of my heart, which had not yet been fosten'd and made capable of receiving those impressions, and partly thro'

my quenching those motions of God's Spirit by my continuing in fin, and entertaining fome hopes of a reprieve,—to obtain which I wrote letters to the worthy gentleman with whom I liv'd at Farfield, and a lady belonging to his family, requesting their interest for my life, as (I falsly and wickedly affured them) it was the first fact of this kind I had ever been guilty of. Nevertheless, Jesus Christ the good Shepherd, who came to seek and fave the lost sheep, still pursued me, tho' I ran from him, and unexpectedly I was often alarmed with this thought, Lord! what will become of my foul! I am a dying man, and have made no preparation for another world. Such Alarms would startle me and stir me up to Prayer, but when I began to pray, the Devil would perfuade me that I was fuch a finner, that it was impossible there could be mercy for me, and it was therefore in vain for me to pray; and believing those suggestions, I would fometimes put off all thoughts of returning to GoD.

40. Thus went I on awhile, fometimes willing to return to God, if I thought there were hopes or possibility of being accepted; fometimes concluding there was not, determined to make the most I could of the little time I had, feeing I must be for ever miserable hereaster. But on Easter-Tuesday, March 31, as soon as I arose out of bed, I was fo terrified in my conscience, that I could get no rest. I knew not what to do. I longed for fome good Christian to advise me, but knew not whom to fend to. The agonies of my mind encreasing more and more, I thought to ease myfelf by reading a little; accordingly I took up the Common-prayer-book, in which I read, and fometimes pray'd on my knees, (the prisoners that lay in the room with me being all gone out). While I was in this diffrefs of foul, and as I was reading, according to my wish, (oh! the wisdom of the providence of Gop!) a religious woman came to

the window, faying, My friend, I am glad to fee you so well employed; I am not come to look at you, but to speak to you for the good of your soul. She had not spoken many words more, before I was cut to the very heart, and had I not given way to my diffress by a flood of tears, my heart must have As foon as I was able to answer her, I buift. could not forbear crying out, "I am the vileft finner upon earth; I have been guilty of all manner of wickedness." She then pointed me to the blood of Jesus Christ, and told me, if I felt the burden of fin, that I was the very person, for whom Christ died; at which good news I was a little refresh'd, and for that time she left me. After this she came to me every day, with others that had like care for my foul, and gave me fuch spiritual advice as they faw I stood in need of, and fang hymns suitable to my condition, and join'd in fervent prayer for me, and directed me to proper portions of Scripture. All this time the conviction of my loft state fank deeper and deeper into my foul, and I was moved in my heart to make an open confession of such crimes as would have touched my life, if the fact I was committed for had not, On Friday, April 3. two Christian friends coming into my room, at a feasonable time (for I was in the utmost distress) I defir'd them to pray with me: As we were finging a hymn, I began to tremble under a deep fense of the wrath of an offended GoD; I was all over in a cold fweat, and every nerve in my body feem'd to be unfirung, and I interrupted them, crying out, "Oh! what a finner am I!— I have no need of "any other tryal; I am guilty; I have enough " within me to condemn me, and when I come " before the Judge, I will plead guilty, for I dare " not tell a lie." Oh! what remorfe, what terrors of conscience did I undergo for five days together? Such as no tongue can utter, nor pen express. Yet amidstall I was at times supported by a small gleam

of distant hope. Glory be to Goo! who laid no

more upon me than I was able to bear.

41. How vigilant is the devil over the fouls of men to destroy them? While I was rushing on in the broad way to eternal perdition, I never concerned myself about the Scriptures whether they were true or falle; but as foon as I began to read and fearch them, immediately the enemy of all good began to affault me with his fiery darts. As I was reading in the Common-Prayer Book, he fuggested to me, How do you know what you read is true? I thought, furely it was true, for they were good men that made the Book, and it was taken out of the Scriptures. He retorted upon me, How do you know the Scriptures are true? God here gave me to know the voice of the tempter, and I replied, Get thee behind me, Satan; for it is God's word, and I will believe it. But neither yet did he leave me; for afterwards he took another method, perfuading me it was time enough for me to repent after fentence, or two or three days before my execution; but I repelled him, faying, Begone, Satan, for I have been thy fervant too long, I will ferve thee no longer.

42. On Saturday night, the 4th of April, my conscience was so alarmed as I lay in bed that my sleep departed from me, and I was seized with inexpressible horror. I felt a perfect hell in my soul. I was all over in a sweat with terror. I trembled to that degree that I shook the bed under me: I roared for the very disquietness of my heart. At last, being no longer able to contain myself, I broke out, I am afraid, I am lost, and damn'd forever. I sat up, and waked all the prisoners in the room, and defired them to join in prayer for me, which they did (may God reward them, and shew mercy upon them all!) In this condition I continued all the rest of the night. On Sunday morn-

ing, as foon as it was day, I rose and went to prayer, but faw no manner of hope. I continued reftlefs, miferable, and despairing, till about noon, when, concluding myfelf past all hopes of mercy, I thought, feeing I must perish, I will resign myfelf wholly up to the will of Gop. But nevertheless, as I was to die, I thought I would learn a form of prayer, wherein to commend my foul into the hands of GoD at the place of execution; and accordingly. I began to read the dying petitions of Thomas Savage, which were these; LORD JESUS receive my spirit. LORD, one smile. Good LORD, one word of comfort for CHRIST's fake. Though death make a separation between my soul and body, let nothing separate between Thee and my soul to all eternity. As I read and ponder'd on these words, I found fresh hopes springing up in me, and seemed to feel an affurance in my heart, that Gop had still a love for me, and would receive my foul. I believed, and in a moment all my diffress was taken away. The load of guilt I felt before was removed, and I was filled with inexpressible joy. I no longer fear'd death, I loved God, and longed to be with him. Had the cart came that moment to take me to execution, I should have gone with infinite pleasure. In the transport of my mind I cried out, Gop hath forgiven me all my fins, He hath given me his holy Spirit in my heart, and I am quite easy. Oh! what a change is here wrought in five days! I that could fo lately murder a man for his money, could now give away all that I have. I then, with a willing heart and hand, distributed the little money I had among my fellow-prisoners; which I mention not boastingly, but to magnify the Grace of God, which inclined my heart not only to do this, but ten thousand times more for his sake, had it been in my power. It and med all and I said

43. This excess of joy continued with me for some time; at length I found a sweet calm peace sink down into my soul: My passions were allay'd, my heart was chang'd, and I abhorred my former course of life. For this amazing Grace, Not unto me, O LORD, not unto me, but unto thy name be the praise;—for not by works of righteousness which I had done [O God thou knowest] but according to thy mercy thou hast saved me, by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.

of Him that did falvation bring, I could for ever think and fing:

"Arise, ye guilty, he'll forgive; Arise, ye needy, he'll relieve.

"Ask but his Grace, and, lo! 'tis giv'n;
"Ask, and he turns your hell to heav'n.
"Tho' fin and forrow pierc'd my foul,

" Thy balm, O Jesu! made it whole.

From this inflance of free unmerited Grace, let no finner prefume on the long-suffering of God, nor trust to a late repentance, as I did; neither let any that is willing to return unto God despair, since I, the vilest of the fallen race, have found acceptance with him.

44. After, by the Grace of God, this bleffed change was wrought in me, upon hearing one of the prisoners swear, his word seemed like thunder in my ear, and I was thrown into such an agony, for grief to hear the name of God blasphemed, that I fell down on the floor, and all my flesh seem'd to be parting from my bones; so bitter was fin to me now, in which I lately took so great delight. And whenever I see, any wanton behaviour among the men and women prisoners, I am filled with such abhorrence thereat, as I am not able to express. And perhaps in this thing, (which is no wonder) I run to an extreme; but so it is, I can hardly bear the sight of a woman, un-

less I know them to be such as fear Goo. I would now have given any thing in the world to recall the letters I fent, in order to petition for a reprieve, not only because I would not now live, but as being heartily forry I should thus endeavour to impose upon the goodness of such worthy persons. I here heartily ask them pardon for so This experience has been of use to me: for, when Satan has buffeted me, and tempted me to doubt of God's mercy, I could repell him thus, I know God loves me, for he has given me to hate fin. Yet, that I might not prefume, the evening before my trial came on, I was shewn my own weakness, and how unable I was of myself to maintain that Grace I had received; and that Jesus, who is the Author, is likewise the Continuer. as well as Finisher of Faith. As I was talking with one of some temporal concerns, I found a mist come over my foul, and the presence of God was somewhat hid from me. I defired my friend to leave me immediately, for I was in a great agony. Being left alone, I fell on my knees before God, and with strong crying and tears made supplication to him, 'till he restored to me again the light of his countenance, which he did in about half an hour.

45. On Friday, April 10, the trumpet gave its folemn, pleafing found, to call me, and the rest of my fellow-prisoners, to the bar of justice, to be tried according to the laws of our country. It was to me as a welcome voice from heaven, and it filled my heart with joy to think I should shortly be there. When I was put to the bar, knowing myself worthy of more than one death, I determined, as I had done before, to give the court no trouble, but to plead guilty, and address'd the judge nearly in this manner:

My Lord. I am called by the name of Jackson; but I defire to be indicted by the name of Nicolas Mooney, for the other is a filitious name. And, my Lard, I beg I may have the liberty of speaking a few words before I am arraigned, to let your Lordship now. That I am the man who have drawn Jones into these unhappy circumstances, and hope your Lordship will therefore shew him favour. My Lord, I have been arraigned for my life before at the Old-Bailey, and was convicted, and the cart came to the door to take me to execution; but I was reprieved. I then depended altegether upon the favour of friends; but now I rely only upon GoD: Had I died then, I had gone to hell and been damn'd to all eternity; but now I am fnatched as a brand from the burning, and my fentence will be pleafing. His Lordship then asked me. If I did not expect mercy, by pleading Guilty. I replied, No, my Lord, I expect no mercy from man on this fide the grave. The Lord is on my side, I do not fear what man can do unto me. I destre to die, for I have not only committed many robberies, but have been a rebel, and fought against my King and Country. His Majefty's clemency to me before I have abused. 'Till within these few days, I neither knew what it was to fear or love GoD, but now I know both; and I know that GoD is reconciled to me, and has forgiven me all my fins, and I am content to die.

46. The next day I was called to the bar again, to receive fentence of death, which I did with the utmost calmness and composure of mind, my soul being kept all the time in sweet peace, and full of love. I here again address'd his Lordship

much to this purpose:

My Lord, Permit me again to entreat for John Jones, whom I have inveigled and drawn into this trouble (as I have done feveral others before) that your Lordship would be pleased to spare his life .- As for my own part, I have committed many robberies, and been a Rebel against my King, and have wronged my Country by coining money, for which I can never make the publick restitution, and therefore I am content to die, as I deferve. - And I pray God to bless every one to whom I have done any wrong. And if there be any gentleman of Bristol here whom I have injured, I heartily ask them forgiveness, and specially Mr. Wasborough, [he then flood by me] whom I attempted to murder, but GOD faved him, for which I can never praise him enough .- My Lord, I only defire three Sundays, and then I am willing to launch into eternity. And I hope when I come to the place of execution, that GOD will open my mouth to warn all to flee their wicked course of life .- I pray GoD to blefs your Lordship and the honourable court, and the Lord Jefus receive my foul.

I then deliver'd a written petition to his Lordship, requesting some favours, which were not granted, for sufficient reasons since given me: No doubt it is best so; for God is wise,

and orders all things well.



47. After condemnation I wrote letters, one to the poor creature who is now with child by me, and another to a gentleman who had been formerly my friend, part of which, for special reasons, I think proper here to subjoin.

Briftol, April 14, 1752.

" DEAR NELLY.

R IGHTEOUS is the LORD, and just are his Judgments: His Hand hath at last overtaken me; his Hand of Justice to cut short my Life, and his Hand of Mercy to save thy Soul. You for one can witness to the Justice of my Sentence, Were it in my Power, I would gladly make you and every one else Amends, whom I have ever injured in their Goods, Persons, or Credit; but seeing it is not, I hereby ask you Forgiveness for the Wrong I have done you; and I trust that God, to whom I owe this Duty first, and you and every one else, will accept of my willing Mind to make full Restitution.

I AM too apprehensive what you have to undergo on my Account, not to be concerned for you: Oh! that I had sufficiently considered this, before I had brought you into this Trouble! the Shame naturally attending your Circumstances, the Trouble consequent thereon, the Slight of Friends, the Indignity and Reproaches of an illnatur'd World, are all grievous to be born; but yet I hope that God, who comforts and supports me under my Trials, in a Manner I am not able to express, will do the same for you. Put your Trust in Him and

you shall never be confounded.

On Wednesday fortnight, or as some tell me, on Friday Se'nnight, I am to die and be delivered out of the Miseries of this sinful World. Glory be to God, thro' Jesus Christ, He has given Repentance and Remission of Sins, to me the most undeserving and the worst of Sinners. He has taken away Sin, the Sting of Death, and I am prepared to meet my Saviour and my Judge. Let my Example encourage every Sinner to break off his Sins and come unto God thro' Jesus Christ, pleading nothing but his Merits, and their own Guilt, and He will freely forgive them: But let none presume on the Long Suffering of God, for He will surely visit their Iniquity with a Rod, and their Sin with Scourges.

As a dying Man I give you this Advice: Give yourself up wholly to God, pray to Him continually, and never rest 'till you have secured an Interest in the Blood of Jesus Christ. Live in his Fear, and you, as I trust I shall, shall die in his Favour. And as to the dear, innocent Babe, if it lives, let me entreat you to be careful of its Education. Let it in its earliest Days be instructed in the sound Principles of true Religion and Virtue and taught to avoid whatever is displeasing to Almighty God. Let it be warned against every evil Temper, Word and Work, and encouraged in every Thing that is a-

greeable to the Will of the most High; and labour to impress a deep Sense of his awful Majesty upon its Mind, as soon as it is capable of Reslexion. If you do this, I doubt not but God, who has the Hearts of all Men in his Hand, will reward you and raise you up Friends to assist you in every Need.

I now commend you to God's Grace and Almighty Pro-

tection, and request your earnest Prayers for

Your dying Friend and Wellwisher,

NICOLAS MOONEY."

"SIR.

DEFORE I die, I take this Opportunity of acknowledging your Kindness to me in Time past. Oh! that I had deferved it, for then I had not brought myfelf into theje unhappy Circumstances: But God is wife and seeing I would not hear his Voice and leave my wicked Life He gave me up to my own Heart's Luft and permitted me to fill up the Meafure of mine Iniquity, that in me at last might be shewn the Severity of his Justice and Riches of his Mercy. You took me, the most abandon'd Wretch, for an honest Man; and as such you kindly and generoufly recommended me where I might have done well. It is my own Fault I did not. On Friday Se'nnight I am to meet the Fate my Crimes have too justly deserved. I deserve not only Death but Hell: To the former Man hath doom'd me; from the latter Christ will save me. Of this I have such a firm Hope in myself, being assured that Gop is reconciled to me, (Oh! the Riches of his Mercy in Christ Jesus,) that my Prison is a Palace, my Chains are as Ornaments, and I am quite happy. I hope every one will pray for me that my Faith fail not. I am, longing for Death, and in firm Expectation of a glorious Refurrection to eternal Life,

Bristol, April 14, 3 Your much obliged and dying Servant,
1752. NICOLAS MOONEY."

"Please to communicate these Lines to Mr. B—ht, with my due Respects."

About eight days before I was to be executed, one came to me, and told me, a clergyman of the Romish church would willingly attend upon me, if I chose it. I told him, I did not chuse it; for having renounced the errors and superstitions of that corrupt church, and experienced the truth as it is in Jesus, I will die a member of the church of England.

48. A day or two after, I ordered my coffin and shroud to be made, that I might have them in my room some time before I died, that I might this way try my faith, and see how sirmly I could bear the sight of this shrine of death. While the coffin-maker was measuring me, I sound sweet

composure of soul, and a comfortable sense of God's prefence; and it was with no little pleasure that I saw this repofitory of my mouldring relicks brought into the room. This was provided for me at the expence of a friend; and here it is my defire my earthly remains should rest, that the affliction of my relations and friends on my account might not be aggravated by the disposal of them any other way; tho' rather than that an oath should be sworn, a blow struck, or any disturbance made on my account whereby God should be offended, after I am dead, I am content to be anatomized, hung in chains, or that my inanimate clay should be any other ways disposed of, as I told the Sheriff. Oh! who would not leave off the works of darkness, and believe in the Lord Jefus, the friend of finners, who is thus able to Support his members, and to raise their happy souls above the fear of death, and to make even that king of terrors (who, to a man unregenerate and unprepared, that is not quite hardened, comes attended with all his ghaftly train of horrors) appear a welcome friend, that lends his kind hand to lift poor mortals out of this fea of mifery, and place them upon the firm land of everlasting rest. On the Sunday before I died, a friend proposed our going in a coach to execution; but I told my fellowfufferer, As our crimes have been publick, let us be publick examples: Let us be feen of all, that all may take warning. God will support us. We do not know what good we may do by being exposed in a cart. I had likewise a friendly visit from Mr. Wasborough, and Mr. Sheirclift, which gave me no fmall fatisfaction. And that day I received the bleffed facrament. It was indeed a feast of love, a feast of marrow and fat things. My foul fed on angels food, and I eat the bread of heaven. I have been fince tried many ways, by some out of love, by others out of strife and contention; but I found that promise of my Saviour true, The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost-He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, what soever I have faid unto you. And so it was; for I had Scripture brought to my mind, and opened to me, to strengthen me against those that opposed, which I had read, but perhaps not fo much as thought of for many years. I could likewife diftinguish my shepherd's voice in his servants from the voice of strangers; such was that of the Romish priest (as I am told he was) who came to me on Monday, just as I was going to receive the facrament, and strove to impose his absurd doctrine of transubstantiation upon me: To whom I replied, The bread and wine are figns of my LORD's body and blood, and channels to convey an inward and spiritual Grace, but as for a real change of the elements I believe it not. I likewise told him, I would not have him give himself any further trouble about me. I went out, and was

gain abundantly refreshed at the facred ordinance. times have I received the Sacrament before, but never till I took it here did I know what it was spiritually to eat the fiesh. of the Son of man and drink his blood. On Tuesday night W. Cudmore, who was condemn'd to die with Jones and me, found means to get off his irons, and had begun to break prifor; but was discovered. I admire the providence of GoD, that I was not in the fame room. Welcome halter, welcome death to me! had all the prison-doors been set open, here would I have flaid to meet the fate my crimes have deferved. Wednesday I kept a fast to the LORD, took the Sacrament, and attended at chapel. It was a day of refreshment from the presence of the Lord. Whoever advises me to the contrary, how can I but be confident of this which I feel in my foul? Yea, tho' I am therefore branded with enthusiasm and blasphemy, I will, by the Grace of God, hold fast the beginning of my confidence stedfast unto the end, for it hath great recompence of reward; yea, I have already the earnest of my heavenly inheritance. And what should I do but praise Gon while I have breath, and magnify him on this manner? feeing no ranfom'd fon of Adam has greater reason, and none ought more to invite his fellow-finners to come unto Gon by Tefus Christ.

ag. It has been objected against me, " That 'tis impossible to vile a finner as I have been should be so much chang'd in fo a fhort time." Why, did not Gop make a world in fix days, and is he not able to change a heart (for the work is his alone) in five days? Or, do they who make this objection know and confider the Scriptures (if they believe them; if not, I pray God turn their hearts) and the power of God? (who can limit it? is his hand shorten'd that he cannot save?) I will tell them of a Thief before me, to whom God gave Repentance and Pardon, and took him to Paradise in less than five hours. Others fay, my requesting three Sundays before I died has but a dark look. I did not ask this because I wanted to live three weeks or three days longer, barely for the fake of living, or for fear of dying. For tho' to me to live would be Christ, to die is gain; and I long to be with Christ, which is far better. Others exclaim against me ve-hemently for not clearing John Jones at the bar. My answer to fuch is, Once (to gain my own ends) I did not scruple to take a false oath, or what amounted to it, tho' it were to hang a man; but now I scruple to tell a known lie, tho' it would fave a man from being hang'd, yea, tho' I were fure to gain my own life and the whole world thereby. That I have drawn that unfortunate man into this plight, I am heartily forry. I ask pardon of God and him. I did all I could, with a fafe confcience, to procure him favour in court, as all who were present can testify, and he himself has seclared. I will yet do for him all I can, which is to pray for him, as for myself: and I hope, the he be cut off from the land of the living here, that the Lord Jesus Christ will receive his soul to mansions of eternal life and happiness. Other uncharitable things have been said of me and to me, but they move me not, With me it is a very small thing to be judged of man, or of man's judgment. My Master, whom I now serve, was revil'd and reproach'd before me. I am content to suffer with him and for him, not only this, but a thousand times more, bonds, imprisonment, death; for I have deserved

more, even Hell itself.

50. I shall now conclude my whole account with observing That at present I enjoy great peace, amidst all the noise of a prison, the disturbance of impertinent company and my earthly troubles. When the reverend and worthy ministers that attend me and my fellow prisoners, or my Christian friends that have for some time past affisted me with their spiritual advice, are praying with me, or finging hymns of prayer or praise to Almighty Gon, I have such a sweet, feeling sense of the presence of God with me, that I am in a manner ravish'd therewith. May God reward them all a thousand fold, for their kind congern for and watchful care over my foul, and every one else who hath been any ways a Minister unto me for good: as fuch I account the persons who took me: they were messengers sent from God to stop me in the way of perdition, and to place me here, where I might find the way to heaven: I can but fmile at my fetters, they are the chains my fins have more than deferved, and I am willing to bear them; if I could slip them from my legs, I would not: when I think of dying, my spirit is ready to start from my body, to anticipate the glory I expect hereafter: I could fuffer my flesh to be hoiled in oil, for the Lord Jesus Christ's fake: And I believe I shall put the halter about my neck with more pleasure than I put on a clean neckcloth; so much hath the bleffed Saviour fweeten'd and alleviated all my afflictions. And I trust, tho' Satan may tempt, and men oppose and revile, that God will never leave me nor forfake me, but having begun the good work in my foul, will carry it on to perfection, and perform it unto the end; and that from the fatal tree I thall mount up to the regions of eternal blifs, to enjoy the glorious prefence of my God and Saviour to all eternity, and with all the company of holy Angels and glorified Spirits, to fing Hallelujahs to God and the Lamb, that fitteth upon the Throne for ever! Amen.

Newgate, April 23,

Nicolas Mooney.

## farther Particulars relating to NICOLAS MOONEY.

It a night before his execution fix persons far up in the room, and spent the time till midnight in reading, singing, and below prayer. At one the prisoners went to bed, and desir'd the 8th chap, of the Romans to be read to them, which being done, they went to seep. At three Mooney arose, and wash'd himself, saying. My wedding day is come at last! Convers'd cheerfully with his friends 'till four, and then called up Jones and Cudmore, and all together spent about an hour in devotion. After which, Jones talling into a great agony as he stood at the window, retir'd to the bed, and seemed under so great terrors, that he had fainted had not timely application been made; at which, Mooney clapped his hands, and rejoicing, cried out, 'I bless God for this! More of my Sort of work; mine began in this Manner.' When Jones came to himself, Mooney took him by the hand, saying, 'Come my dear Brother Jones, fear not; we shall both take our Flight above the Clouds soon.'

About 7 o'Clock Company began to flock in, and he with the utmost cheerfulness testified to all the consolation he felt from Goo. He then dreft himself in mourning, saying; "I hope this is no sin: " I do it not out of vanity but neatnels. No, no more of the De-" vil's works for me."-He continu'd reading, praying, and speaking to the people 'till he was call'd to Sacrament at nine, which being ended, the executioner enter'd and put the rope round his neck, at which he faid, "Welcome halter! my cafe is like that of " the thief on the cross."-Two friends were allow'd to go with the prisoners in the cart, which they acknowledg'd as a special favour: To one of them he faid, " I am almost unwilling to part with you; I could wish you were to go to Heaven with me, but not this way. When he faw the gallows he smil'd, saying, "Wel-" come gallows, I have deserved thee many-years." -- At the Place of execution they all joined the minister in singing and prayer; which done, he earnestly exhorted all finners to take warning by him.—He then gave this printed Narrative of his Life to the Sheriff, and faid, "This was revised by me last night, and it contains " nothing but the truth, and it is my defire it should be dispersed "abroad as much as possible, to shew my wickedness and Goo's goodness, who has forgiven me all my Sins;" with many more frong expressions of his stedfast faith, to that porpose. He then clear'd up the character of one who had been fallly asperfed; and denied his ever having any attention to plunder 'Squire P-'s house, saying, " I have been guilty of no robberies but in the fireets or high-"way," He then proceeded, " I know CHRIST died for me, and " the moment the breath is out of my body, my foul will be in "Heaven." As the executioner was preparing to the up Jones, he eried out, " Tie me up first; for I am the greatest offender;" and defired that no one would pull his legs, for that he was willing to fuffer all the pain of Death.—The rope being fix'd, he cry'd out, "My foul is so full of the Love of God, that it is ready to flart " out of my body; and in a few moments I shall be at my Father's House." The cart being then drawn away, he launch'd into a happy Eternity.

